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ABSTRACT

The rhetorical appropriateness of two of Shirley Chisholm's persuasive speeches on women's liberation were assessed using Afrocentric criteria for speech criticism developed by Molefi K. Asante (1979). The speeches addressed the controversy of whether the women's liberation movement was appropriate for women of minority cultures in the United States. The first speech, delivered to a predominantly white audience focused on women's rights from the standpoint of white American culture, while the second speech, delivered to a predominantly black audience, treated the issue from a black American cultural perspective. The application of Asante's criteria revealed that Chisholm's treatment of theme, audience, composition, speaker presence, and the speech components of style and emotion, as well as appeal to folklore and memory of the past were quite positive. Chisholm's use of logic and indirection were questionable because she used early deductive reasoning and directness when inductive logic and indirection probably would have been more appropriate for any receivers who were uncommitted to women's rights. Chisholm's assets in both messages clearly outweighed her liabilities. Thus, Asante's criteria for evaluating black speakers have proved workable tools for measuring the rhetorical effort of Chisolm's persuasive communication in the two selected speeches. (HTH)

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SHIRLEY CHISHOLM AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS RHETORIC

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ABSTRACT

The appropriateness of Shirley Chisholm's rhetorical efforts in two major persuasive speeches on women's liberation is assessed using Asante's criteria for speech criticism. While taking the controversial stand that women's liberation is appropriate for females of both black and white American culture, Chisholm's rhetorical assets in both messages clearly outweigh her liabilities.

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SHIRLEY CHISHOLM AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS RHETORIC

Dorothy K. Williamson-Ige, Ph.D.

The problem of black American females not offering strong collective support to issues of sexism in the revived women's movement of the 1960s through the 1980s became readily apparent.[1] Shirley Chisholm, both black and female, is one of the few public figures whose messages have taken advantage of ideology rooted in both the black movement as well as the women's movement. Chisholm has set an example of a black, liberated woman being politically active through serving as a Democratic Congresswoman of the New York State Legislature, as the first black American to run for the United States Presidency in 1972 and as an outspoken advocate for women's rights for all women, regardless of color.[2] As minority groups and women organize and move more into politics in America, the important ideas addressed by Chisholm should become even more timely.

My purpose is to assess the rhetorical appropriateness of two major persuasive messages (or rhetoric) delivered by Chisholm using Asante's criteria for speech criticism.[3] A personal interview between Chisholm and I on the issue of black and white culture and women's rights will offer additional insight into Chisholm's speeches and their intent.

Two basic areas of research are relevant to this discussion. The first area concentrates on the general topic of Chisholm's messages--the broader controversy of black females supporting women's rights.

The black American community has conducted numerous scholarly investigations on the subject ranging from strong support for black females becoming involved with the larger struggle for women's rights to adamant opposition of black females identifying with major issues addressed by white females.

Salaam, Shange, and Wallace, for example, are among prolific spokespersons whose messages have argued anecdotally and statistically that all women are discriminated against.[4] These writers have taken the position that black females are constantly subjected to the double jeopardy of being black and female, and consequently they should utilize all channels which will lead to their equality in society. They point to issues of child care, equal pay, battered women, and fair handling of rape cases as being relevant to all women.[5]

On the other hand, Beal, Gillespie, Ladner, La Rue, and Staples indicate that the larger women's liberation effort does not meet the specific needs of the black community.[6] These vocal spokespersons charge that the women's movement has been geared toward professional rather than poor females. They indicate that black women have a different historical and sociological background in which they have always had to work, remain unprotected and, consequently, more sexually exploited and demeaned in American kitchens. These same advocates have also pointed to the contradiction that some feminists of the majority culture in professions seek liberation while leaving menial tasks such as housework to minority females, have taken advantage of employment and career advancement programs originally designed to promote minority groups who need work to survive, and that the anti-male stance and questioning of the motherhood role could further divide the black community. These spokespersons

conclude that black females should pursue women's rights, but from a black perspective which will not divide or impede progress toward overall black liberation. Thus, the issue of whether women's liberation is appropriate for females of both majority and minority cultures in the United States has generated strong arguments on both sides of the controversy.

The second relevant research area deals specifically with Chisholm as an advocate for women's rights for both minority and white females. Rather than concentrate on speech criticism of Chisholm's women's rights messages, Brownmiller, Haskins, and Hicks have basically presented biographical sketches in which Chisholm is portrayed as honestly fighting sexism as a black female in politics.[7]

Past research has adequately addressed the controversy of whether black females should join the larger women's rights effort, as well as Chisholm's political life as a female role-model fighting both racism and sexism in society. This investigation extends inquiry further, however, to apply Asante's methodology in evaluating Chisholm's selected speeches on women's liberation.

The first speech, "The 51% Minority," was delivered in July, 1970 in Washington, D.C., at the Conference on Women's Employment and hearings before a special subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, for a predominantly white audience.[8] The second message, "The Contemporary Black Woman," was delivered in February, 1980 at the University of Cincinnati to a predominantly black audience.[9]

While Chisholm has delivered many addresses, these speeches were chosen for two reasons. First, the messages are representative of Chisholm's ideas over a ten-year period. Second, while the theme in both speeches

remain the same, the first focusses on women's rights from the standpoint of white American culture while the second treats the issue from a black American cultural perspective.

Method

The appropriateness and credibility of using Afrocentric criteria in analyzing black communication has already been established through scholars such as Cummings and Daniel, Hunter, James, and Sidran.[10] Asante's Afrocentric methodology consists of several criteria which will receive explanation throughout this analysis. The criteria include: Theme, Composition of the Audience, and Speaker's Presence which concentrates on the Person and the Speech. Additionally, the six components of Speech are: Style, Logic, Emotion, Indirection (a round-about way of reaching the central point), Appeal to Folklore, and Memory of the Past.[11] Backlund, Brown, Gurry, and Jandt have acknowledged the legitimacy of a critic's subjective judgment who is trained in speech criticism.[12] This is particularly applicable when clearly defined criteria, such as Asante's methodology, is established. Therefore, as a trained critic, I will apply Asante's criteria in evaluating Chisholm's messages.

In addition to utilizing Asante's methodology, as suggested by Ewbank and Ewbank, the criticism will concentrate on effort rather than effect.[13] It is impractical to attempt to measure the overall effect of Chisholm's messages since the push for women's rights for all women is yet in progress. Thus, the assessment will focus on whether Chisholm exhibited supreme effort in rising to the speaking occasion. The analysis will simultaneously concentrate on the Washington, D.C. and the Cincinnati speeches since her ideas presented in both addresses remain consistent and reinforce each other.

Analysis

Theme

The central idea which dominates the speaker's message represents the theme. The resounding theme of women's liberation is that females suffer discrimination from society because of their sex.[14] Chisholm has continually supported this stance. The congresswoman admitted that the push for equal employment by feminists had not significantly helped females of the black community.[15] At the same time, in the Washington, D.C. address, the speaker argued the other side of the issue, encouraging all women to join in their liberation to correct these injustices--"Women in this country must become revolutionaries. We must refuse to accept the old, the traditional roles and stereotypes."[16] In Cincinnati, Chisholm offered practical reasons for black females to support women's rights:

> An increasing number of black women are beginning to feel that it is important first to become free as women in order to contribute more fully to the task of Black Liberation. . . . An aspect of the women's liberation movement that will and does interest many black women is the potential nationalization of day care centers in this country.[17]

Chisholm acknowledged the drawbacks of black females as well as common concerns which would prove practical in joining feminists of America's larger macroculture. Thus, her treatment of the women's rights theme from the perspective of its potential to help all women can be considered well-balanced, practical, and thus rated superior.

Audience Composition

Audience composition refers broadly to those involved in the rhetorical situation. The audience consists of persons who stand to lose or gain because of the persuasive messages. Asante distinguishes between three types of audiences: the living, the ancestors, and the unborn to whom black communicators may speak.[18] The historical and the social environment are also involved in audience analysis. Thus, Chisholm's audiences consist of a complex matrix of females and males of the minority microculture, as well as females and males of the majority macroculture in the United States, whether present or not, who stand to lose or gain because of the communicator's messages. The latter group holds much of the economic and political power which the other three groups wish to share. Thus, audience analysis is discussed in this broader context rather than in terms of the immediate receivers only.

Chisholm obviously recognized her predominantly Caucasian audience in Washington, D.C. She attempted to emphasize certain issues without becoming too contradictory. She established common ground between all women, "I don't want you to go home and talk about integrated schools, churches, or marriages if the kind of integration you're talking about is black and white. I want you to go home and work for, fight for, the integration of male and female--human and human."[19]

The speaker remained cognizant of the needs of the black community in the Cincinnati presentation as well. Chisholm met Asante's expectation that effective black speakers addressing predominantly black audiences should appeal to the living, the ancestors, and the unborn. Through mentioning both positive and negative points, the speaker suggested changes for black

women which could help the present as well as future recipients of her message. "We, as women, must teach our youth to set goals for themselves and be determined to reach them despite all obstacles. . . . Teach them that their color has nothing to do with their worth. We must teach our youth respect. For too long we have been disrespectful to our individual selves and the entire black race."[20] Chisholm continued, "Undoubtedly, black women are cultivating new attitudes most of which will have political repercussions."[21]

While Chisholm emphasized unique points with different audiences, she was not contradictory in speaking in the interest of all concerned. Her remarks showed sensitivity toward similarities and differences in her diverse audiences. Hence, Chisholm's treatment of audience composition can be judged as appropriate.

Speaker's Presence

Person

The person is a central component of speaker's presence. This criteria includes the speaker's background, credibility, and nonverbal appurtenance which convey personal image.[22] The life experiences which Chisholm brought to both rhetorical situations while speaking for women's rights were impressionable.

In experiential and educational knowledge, Chisholm brought age and a diverse background to the speaking platform. She was born in 1924 in Brooklyn, New York, possessed a near genius I.Q., received early education in Barbados, and earned a Master's Degree from Columbia University.

For anyone aware of her background, the speaker's professional experiences could have strengthened her credibility as a liberated woman.

Chisholm served as a nursery school director, as New York state assemblywoman, and in 1967, became the first black woman to be elected to the United States House of Representatives. The speaker was also the author of several books and articles.[23] Consequently, Chisholm could speak first-hand on women's liberation as a female, as a politician, and as an author. She had been married since 1949, adding yet another dimension to her insight as a liberated married black woman.

Since appearance is an important part of personal presence, it should be noted that Chisholm's characteristic dress was conservative yet appropriate for maintaining credibility in both speaking situations. Her dress did not represent an extreme from black or white American culture, but remained within the norms of society overall.

Chisholm's race and strong stand on feminist issues for all women could have served as personal constraints against her persuasive efforts with receivers. If the speaker's race was a negative factor in the minds of some receivers of the Washington, D.C. speech, Chisholm possibly countered this negativism by implying the kinship of all women. "I have pointed out time and time again that the harshest discrimination that I have encountered in the political arena is anti-feminism . . . Your time is now, my sisters."[24]

Chisholm has acknowledged that she has been accused of being more loyal to women's rights than to black liberation.[25] The fact that she considers herself a liberated female could have also caused her to be perceived as unfairly biased on issues addressed. Chisholm's comments could have served to counter these possible perceptions in the minds of her predominantly black Cincinnati audience. She lauded both black males and females in the immediate audience. "The black man is beginning to be regarded as a full

human being and not three fifths of a man. . . . The black woman has developed perseverance, strength, tenacity and other attributes . . ."[26]

How Chisholm's ethical character was perceived in each message depended ultimately on each receiver. However, the speaker seemed to be aware of possible communication barriers which affect credibility and tailored her verbal and nonverbal messages to enhance her personal image with the broad audiences who could be affected by her messages. Her experiences and consistent record on women's rights should have increased her credibility and personal presence. The speaker's personal presence can, therefore, be judged as appropriate.

Speech

Style

Style refers to the verbal characteristics of language use as well as nonverbal characteristics of delivery. Asante asserts that black communicators must understand the juxtaposition of phrases and audiences, as well as the rhythm to which people are attuned in order to become eloquent speakers.[27]

Chisholm's verbal style was accented by vivid metaphors while her nonverbal style was strengthened through her dynamic delivery. In the Washington, D.C. address, the speaker's visual metaphors proved useful in clarifying her position on the need for the liberation of all females in society. Chisholm compared the unrewarding yet exhausting work of women to the human anatomy when she noted that "Women are the backbone of America's political organizations. They are the letter writers, the envelope stuffers, the telephone answerers."[28] Reiterating the same point, she used another vivid metaphor, "The power behind the throne is a woman."[29] Yet, according to

Chisholm, society stereotypes the woman from the moment she is "wrapped in a pink blanket--pink, because that's the color of her caste."[30]

During the Cincinnati presentation, Chisholm also made copious use of metaphorical comparisons. She referred to the black female as being "trapped between the walls of the dominant white culture and her own subculture: both of which encourage deference to men."[31] The speaker also encouraged black women to "move from the periphery of organized political activity into its main arena."[32]

Chisholm's style of delivery was even more pronounced. In addition to the Cincinnati address, the critic had heard Chisholm speak on a number of occasions. Her style was always similar. As Chisholm has noted, she prefers to speak extemporaneously.[33] A copy of the Cincinnati speech given to the critic verified this fact. Her mode of delivery was a combination form of fiery preaching and heated argument. She had a quality which Asante refers to as "sounding good."[34]

The speaker's nonverbal cues were also appropriate. While Chisholm definitely spoke with a slight lisp, her projection as well as her varied pitch and inflexion made her vocal delivery charismatic. The speaker used a variety of hand and arm gestures and, at times, jerked her entire small frame in one meaningful sweeping gesture.

The feedback to Chisholm's verbal and nonverbal stylistic devices was positive. Her messages were interrupted by occasional applause, vertical head nodding, and an antiphony of verbal affirmations. It is conceivable that the politician's messages assisted in causing all females to re-think their roles in society. Chisholm's ability to manipulate verbal and nonverbal language typologies appeared to be an asset in promoting her

claim for women's liberation for all females. Her style can, therefore, be rated as superior.

Logic

Speaker logic connotes the speaker's ability to reason from the known to the unknown. This may be done through inductive reasoning from specific information to general conclusions; through deductive reasoning using general premises to explain specific instances; or through supporting material such as authoritative testimony, examples, and statistics.

Both of Chisholm's messages may have been more appealing to listeners had she pursued arguments more cautiously. Andersen implies that a speaker should begin with positive examples (inductive reasoning) before actually stating general premises when he or she is attempting to persuade.[35] In both speeches, Chisholm made her position known early; before adequately establishing common ground with receivers who were uncommitted to women's rights concerns. In the Washington, D.C. address, for example, Chisholm stated early that being both black and a woman was "a disadvantage because America as a nation is both racist and anti-feminist. Racism and anti-feminism are two of the prime traditions of this country."[36]

During the Cincinnati presentation, Chisholm rapidly came to the focal point of the conflict between black males and females. "It is quite perturbing to divert ourselves on the dividing issue of the alleged fighting that absorbs the energies of black men and black women."[37] Both of these early statements could have caused male and female listeners from black and white culture to become defensive and less receptive to the speaker's later ideas.

The fact that Chisholm initially used deductive reasoning when inductive logic may have been more appropriate does not imply that her actual

arguments were illogical or shallow. The speaker made use of factual statistics, delayed inductive reasoning, as well as cause-to-effect arguments in both speeches.[38] Had she changed the sequence and stated her logical support before verbalizing the overall central ideas, her messages would have proved more palatable to listeners who hold conservative views toward issues of race and sex in society. Consequently, Chisholm's use of logical appeal can be considered below average.

Emotion

Emotional appeal concentrates on attitudes and feelings. Chisholm relied on affective arguments such as cultural oppression and freedom for all, including women, in appealing to human emotions. In the Washington, D.C. message, she not only choose to use emotional words but to compare her appeal for fair play among women to humanitarian appeals made by famous leaders which would most likely evoke emotions in receivers. "The strength that marked Chirst, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King was a strength born not of violence, but of gentleness, understanding, and genuine human compassion.[39]

During the Cincinnati address, Chisholm adjusted her use of emotional argument to appeal to a society in which some members are oppressed by culture, gender, and race. She referred to the black woman as being the slave of a slave and observed that "black women are crushed by cultural restraints and abused by the legitimate power structure. . . . As a consequence of ignoring or being unable to handle the problems facing black women, they are becoming socially and politically active . . . they are attempting to change their conditions."[40]

Consequently, in one message Chisholm chose to diplomatically use emotional appeal from a universal perspective in promoting the needs of all

women. In the other messages, she cleverly used emotional appeal from a specific cultural perspective to call attention to the black American who is female. The stand is taken that the speaker's use of emotion can be considered superior in both messages.

Indirection

Asante identified indirection, a circuitous way of approaching the central idea, as an appropriate strategy for black spokespersons.[41] Save the use of figurative analogies, Chisholm used indirection very sparingly.

It is difficult to imagine a maverick spokesperson such as Chisholm being indirect on most issues. She is not a politician of ambiguity. During both messages, the speaker directly opined that all women needed to join the struggle for female liberation regardless of their cultural background. Chisholm's use of candor is not being questioned. It is believed that part of Chisholm's success lies in her honesty and straightforwardness.

At the same time, indirection can be an excellent technique for holding attention as well as establishing rapport and identification. Indirection can also create ambiguity. While ambiguity can be a liability, it can also be an asset to avoid alienating unpersuaded receivers who can apply their own interpretations to messages heard. Therefore, it could have been expedient for Chisholm to use less aplomb and more indirection in appealing to any unpersuaded receivers in both of her audiences. Thus, Chisholm's use of indirection in both women's rights messages can be judged as below average.

Appeal to Folklore and Memory of the Past

Appeal to folklore and memory of the past will be discussed simultaneously since both make reference to the past. Asante asserts that both of these criteria should be present among effective black communicators.[42] Appeal to folklore is used to keep the past alive, justify culture, and to relate the past positively to the future. Memory of the past is similar. However, it also includes remembering how past leaders sound and attempts to capture such past characteristics in the present.

Chisholm used reference to the past in the Washington, D.C. speech to bridge differences between females of both black and white cultural enclaves through making repeated references to sex discrimination received by all women.[43] She referred to females who have remained lackadaisical in supporting women's rights as "brain-washed, Uncle Tom females."[44] This was a throwback to folklore and past memory which most receivers from both black and white culture could identify.

During the Cincinnati address, the speaker fulfilled Asante's prediction that folklore and memory of the past is particularly effective with black receivers. Chisholm referred to accomplishments of black females with which black receivers would be familiar. "Black women played a crucial role in the fight for freedom. Harriet Tubman slipped into the South nineteen times and let out 300 slaves. Ida Wells kept her newspaper free by walking the streets of Memphis in the 1890s with two pistols on her hips."[45] Chisholm's use of folklore and past memory in her appeal for women's rights among receivers of both cultures can be evaluated as superior.

Summary and Conclusion

Chisholm noted important differences and similarities among both females of the majority and minority cultures in America, advocated all women joining any effort that may lead to their liberation, and attributed an interest of black females toward feminist rhetoric to political awareness, sexist behavior from some of their own men, and the impact of feminist rhetoric overall.

As Chart A reveals, based on Asante's criteria, Chisholm's treatment of the Theme, Audience Composition, Personal Speaker Presence, and the Speech components of Style, Emotion, as well as Appeal to Folklore and Memory of the Past were quite positive. The speaker's use of Logic and Indirection were questionable because Chisholm used early deductive reasoning and directness when inductive logic and indirection probably would have been more appropriate for any receivers uncommitted to women's rights. Chisholm's assets in both messages clearly outweighed her liabilities. Thus, the selected speeches on women's rights represented a fitting response.

In conclusion, the purpose of this study was to critique selected speeches of Chisholm on women's rights from the standpoint of black and white American females. Asante's criteria for evaluating black speakers have been used and proved workable tools for measuring rhetorical effort of Chisholm's persuasive communication in two selected speeches.

There is room for further investigation on the issue of females and women's liberation efforts. Such studies could include other spokespersons on the issue, varying methodologies for studying their messages, and empirical investigations on how speakers use communication in addressing the problem of women or other groups of advocacy.

NOTES

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[2]Shirley Chisholm, The Good Fight (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1973); Chisholm, Unbought and Unbossed (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970).

[3]Molefi K. Asante, "Afrocentricity as Method in Discourse Criticism," Paper presented at the Speech Communication Association Convention, San Antonio, Texas, November, 1979, pp. 1-9.

[4]Kalamu Salaam, "Women's Rights are Human Rights!" The Black Scholar, March-April, 1979, pp. 9-14; Ntozake Shange, "For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow is Enuf: A Choreopoem," New York: MacMillan, 1977; Michele Wallace, Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman (New York: The Dial Press, 1979).

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[6]Frances Beal, "Double Jeopardy: To be Black and Female," New Generation, 51 (Fall, 1969), 23-28; Marcia Gillespie, "Macho Myths and Michele Wallace," Essence, August, 1979, pp. 76-102; Joyce Ladner, Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971); Linda La Rue, "The Black Movement and Women's Liberation," The Black Scholar, 1 (May, 1970), 36-43; Robert Staples, "The Myth of Black Macho: A Response to Angry Black

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[8]Shirley Chisholm, "The 51% Minority," Speech delivered at the Conference on Women and Employment, Hearings before a Special Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Ninety-First Congress, Second Session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, July, 1970), Part 2, pp. 909-915.

[9]Chisholm, "The Contemporary Black Woman," Speech delivered at the University of Cincinnati, February 15, 1980, pp. 1-10.

[10]Melbourne S. Cummings and Jack L. Daniel, "Scholarly Literature on the Black Idiom," in Bruce E. Williams and Orlando L. Taylor, eds., Working Papers: International Conference on Black Communication (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1980), pp. 97-144; Deborah A. Hunter, "A Dilemma of Black Communication Scholars: The Challenge of Finding New Rhetorical Tools," Paper presented at the Speech Communication Association Convention, Louisville, Kentucky, November, 1982; Lawrence B. James, "The Influence of Black Orality on Contemporary Black Poetry and It's Implications for Performance," Southern Speech Communication Journal 45(Spring, 1980) 297-312; Ben Sidran, Black Talk (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

[11]Asante, "Afrocentricity as Method," pp. 3-4.

[12]Phillip M. Backlund, Kenneth L. Brown, Joanne Gurry, and Fred Jandt, "Recommendations for Assessing Speaking and Listening Skills," Communication Education 31 (January, 1982), 9-17.

[13]Barbara Ewbank and Henry Ewbank, "The Critical Statement," Central States Speech Journal (Winter, 1976) pp. 285-294.

[14]Caroline Bird, What Women Want (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979); Hamida Bosmajian and Haig Bosmajian, This Great Argument: The Rights of Women (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1972).

[15]Chisholm, "51% Minority," p. 910.

[16]Chisholm, "51% Minority," p. 911.

[17]Chisholm, "Contemporary Black Woman," p. 3.

[18]Asante, "Afrocentricity as Method," p. 7.

[19]Chisholm, "51% Minority," p. 915.

[20]Chisholm, "Contemporary Black Woman," p. 9.

[21]Chisholm, "Contemporary Black Woman," p. 4.

[22]Asante, "Afrocentricity as Method," pp. 3-4.

[23]Chisholm, The Good Fight; Chisholm, Unbought and Unbossed; Chisholm, "Race, Revolution, and Women," The Black Scholar, 3 (December, 1971), 17-21; Chisholm, "Racism and Anti-Feminism," The Black Scholar, 1 (January-February, 1970), 40-45.

[24]Chisholm, "51% Minority," pp. 913-914.

[25]Chisholm, The Good Fight, p. 34.

[26]Chisholm, "Contemporary Black Woman," p. 1.

[27]Asante, "Afrocentricity as Method," pp. 5-6.

[28]Chisholm, "51% Minority," p. 912.

[29]Chisholm, "51% Minority," p. 912.

[30]Chisholm, "51% Minority," p. 911.

[31]Chisholm, "Contemporary Black Woman," p. 5.

[32]Chisholm, "Contemporary Black Woman," p. 6.

[33]Chisholm, The Good Fight, p. 187.

[34]Asante, "A Metatheory for Black Communication," Paper presented to the New York State Speech Association, Loch Sheldrake, New York, April, 1974, p. 5.

[35]Kenneth E. Andersen, Persuasion: Theory and Practice (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1978), pp. 158 and 184.

[36]Chisholm, "51% Minority," p. 909.

[37]Chisholm, "Contemporary Black Woman," p. 1.

[38]Chisholm, "51% Minority," pp. 910-914; Chisholm, "Contemporary Black Woman," pp. 1-9.

[39]Chisholm, "51% Minority," p. 914.

[40]Chisholm, "Contemporary Black Woman," p. 4.

[41]Asante, "Afrocentricity as Method," p. 4.

[42]Asante, "Afrocentricity as Method," pp. 4-6.

[43]Chisholm, "51% Minority," pp. 909-915.

[44]Chisholm, "51% Minority," p. 913.

[45]Chisholm, "Contemporary Black Woman," pp. 3-4.

Chart A

Rating of Chisholm's Speaking Effort in Both Messages

Criteria	Rating
I. Theme	1
II. Audience Composition	2
III. Speaker Presence:	
A. Person	2
B. Speech:	
1. Style	1
2. Logic	4
3. Emotion	1
4. Indirection	4
5. Folklore and Memory of the Past	1
Total	16 ÷ 8 criteria = 2 which is above average or appropriate overall speaker effort

Key:

1 = Superior Effort

2 = Above Average or Appropriate Effort

3 = Average Effort

4 = Below Average Effort

5 = Poor Effort